

Revolutionary Politics vis-a-vis Bankruptcy of Bourgeois and Social democratic Politics

The toiling people of Assam have made it possible. Two of our Party candidates have entered the Assembly there to uphold steadfastly the genuine cause of the toiling people in their unflinching fight against all the conspiracies and trickeries of the parties who stand in defence of the crisis-ridden capitalist order. They will strive their most to integrate the fight within the legislative forum with fight outside to frustrate the diabolical design of the bourgeois class of installing two-party system to the serious detriment of legitimate democratic movement and restoration, preservation and further extension of fundamental and democratic rights of the people. Our revolutionary greetings to the toiling people of Assam!

The victory of our Party in Assam, even in two seats, is all the more significant because it is the victory over all the forces of reaction, social democratic treachery, communal-parochial forces and, above all, the power of the bourgeois class—its Chambers of commerce, money bags, press and publicity media and even deceit and machinations at the top administrative bureaucratic level. It is, therefore, a victory of correct revolutionary line and exemplary revolutionary stamina and determination based on it. It is the victory of the oppressed people led by the only revolutionary proletarian party on our soil, founded and taught by the Great Teacher of the Proletariat Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. This is the party that alone is holding high the banner of revolutionary proletariat and discharging its noble allegiance to the exploited classes. In the context of this political reality, every achievement, every advancement of this party is the achievement and advancement of revolutionary politics and is a source of great joy and inspiration to the

oppressed toiling millions of our country.

The political trends in Assam and Andhra would have been different had the persistent call and initiative of our party for giving a concrete shape of a genuine left and democratic front based on agreed common programme and a code of conduct been responded to by the parties like CPI, CPI(M) and others. They have stubbornly refused to come to this only logical course that alone can defend and safeguard the vital interests of the toiling masses. Instead, they chose the path of collaboration with big bourgeois parties—the Janata or either factions of the Congress, openly or by clandestine arrangement. This opportunism in parliamentary politics of CPI, CPI(M) and other so-called left parties has been doubly harmful to the cause of the toiling people. It has helped the ruling bourgeoisie to push through its plan of evolving two-party system both at the national and regional or state levels while perforce keeping the oppressed people in a politically defenceless position

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'Left Front' Government's Budget is in no way different, except in shrewdness, from those of the Congress Government's

Com. Debaprosad Sarker's speech in W. B. Assembly

Honourable speaker,

The budget placed before the house on 25th February last, by the honourable finance minister on behalf of the 'Left Front' Government can be said to be fully prepared by the "Left Front" Government for the current year. We are but to admit that this budget has some new features—different from all other budgets prepared in this state so far. Because, the anti-people character of all the budgets prepared by the Congress government in the past was clear before the people. They lacked the adequate shrewdness to cover the anti-people character of those budgets. And from that point of view the budget of the present 'Left Front' Government is unprecedented and they can undoubtedly claim credit for that. I say this because with much fanfare of providing some very very paltry relief, the 'Left Front' Government has tried to cover up the anti people character of the budget.

What is that yardstick by which we can determine whether a budget reflects pro-people character? We know that among many, one of the main problems of the present exploitative capitalist economic system of our country is the problem of continuous price rise. Increasing continuously, the prices of essential commodities have now gone beyond the purchasing power of the common people. There is the pressure of the continuously soaring prices of essential commodities on the one hand, and crores and crores of rupees of additional taxes are being imposed by the government every year—and people are made to

bare this. As a result, the life of the common people has become utterly unbearable. This is what the common people experienced during the Congress regime. The Congress budget always helped prices to soar on the one hand while on the other imposed every year crores and crores of rupees of additional taxes—all the burden of which the common people had to shoulder. Over and above the pressure of capitalist exploitation, the burden of such exorbitant taxes has created such a situation that 70 percent of the people of our country are living below poverty line today. The common people naturally expected

that the "Left Front" after coming to governmental power would give people some relief from the pressure of the soaring price and ease the burden of exorbitant taxation. But what happened? After coming to power the 'Left Front' Government on August last imposed an additional taxation of Rs. 42 crores of rupees and again, not even six months have passed yet they have imposed once more additional taxes to the tune of Rs. 20 crores in this budget. The common people who had been groaning under the burden of back-breaking taxation and unprecedented price rise of essential commodities, the budget of the 'Left Front' Government imposed upon them a huge amount of additional taxes once more within a period of six months only. But on the other hand, see for yourself that within such a short period of six months the allocation to police account have been further enhanced. You all know that the last budget made an enhanced allocation of about Rs 8 crores in the police account and not even six months have

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WHY SUCI

—The Only Genuine Communist Party On Our Soil

[Contd. from last Issue dated March 1, 1978]

Neither the undivided CPI nor the three present parties born out of it have been able to correctly ascertain the Stage of Indian Revolution

So, you see from the whole discussion that because of their habitual practice of blindness and blindly copying theories from abroad, let alone their stand during the freedom movement and more so their stand and conduct in 1942—since 1948, Ranadive imposed the theory of Peoples' Democratic Revolution on Indian situation from above, copying it into from Zdanov's thesis enunciated in Cominform's documents, no matter how much they have tried to rectify their mistakes each time faced with self-contradiction between their theory and practice and apart from minor changes here and there brought about in different party Congresses, the same strategy of People's Democratic Revolution adopted by the Party remains unchanged. We have noted also that although the party was split twice on the ostensible plea of fundamental theoretical differences but the theoretical position of each of the factions remains unchanged even after the split. Besides, as the party, from its very inception grew up with non-Marxist process of thinking and methodology and for which the CPI could not develop as a genuine communist party, the CPI(M) too coming out of the old party, before giving formal shape to the new party, failed to effect any break with the same old non-Marxist thought process, as it did not conduct the necessary struggles to fulfil the essential pre-conditions for the formation of a genuine revolutionary party of the proletariat. That is to say precisely, they failed 1) to bring about ideological centralism conducting a co-ordinated socialist movement on the basis of dialectical materialist outlook covering all aspects of life and activity 2) to develop a concrete conception of collective leadership among the party leaders, rank and file, supporters and the masses, as also 3) to build up through these struggles, a band of professional revolutionaries who are distinctly different from paid whole time workers—without fulfilling these three basic tasks, the very pre-conditions for the formation of a real revolutionary party of the proletariat, they, as I have told already, in hot haste, formed the new party. The Naxalities, too, who I believe, are going to form another party, are not conducting any struggle to fulfil the above preliminary conditions for the formation of a revolutionary party of the proletariat in order to achieve a complete break in their process of thinking and methodology with that of the CPI(M). As a result, even if they build up a new party, in the near future, it will be just another revisionist party like the CPI and the CPI(M). Since this new party will carry the old legacy and tradition, that is, the same non-Marxist process of thinking and methodology and the group politics and their theory of revolution being the same Peoples' Democratic Revolution with only some differences here and there in tactical approaches and vocabularies, two opposite trends, about which I have said earlier are bound to appear among them. That is to say, one section will, gradually seek to take refuge in parliamentary politics while the other, from their impatience for revolution will manifest growing tendency of adventurism and in future this party will also meet the same fate of a split. So, from all these discussions, it is now obvious to you that neither the undivided CPI nor the three parties born out of it, did ever guide their activities consistent with the Marxist-Leninist working class revolutionary outlook, be it on the question of ascertaining correctly the stage of revolution by an objective analysis of Indian concrete situation, be it on the question of maintaining correct dialectical relation with the international leadership or be it on the question of following the correct method of formation of a revolutionary party of the proletariat and so none of these three parties has proved its worth to lead the masses in their struggle for emancipation from the yoke of capitalist exploitation, the struggle to overthrow the capitalist state machine.

The question of constant upliftment of the cultural standard of the leaders by applying the Marxist-Leninist outlook in their private life, habit and conduct is of supreme importance

Now, besides this political aspect, I would like to highlight before you, the other most important criterion necessary to judge the



character of a political party. That is, whether or not the parties in question have a programme of cultural revolution of their own conducive to the revolution we aspire to build up a new society free from exploitation. I mean, whether or not these parties have been able to project before the people and set before the mass movements of the country, a guide to action on the basis of a co-ordinated knowledge covering all aspects of life in every activity to develop the new outlook complimentary to the revolution of our country, that is, the new higher cultural and ethical standard which is conducive to the growth and development of proletarian revolution, doing away with the old mentality existing still in the society—more particularly, whether or not, the leaders as well as the rank and file of these parties, who are the vanguards of this ideological cultural movement, have, to begin with, started the struggle of applying this new culture and ethics, on the basis of this co-ordinated knowledge, in their own lives. In other words whether they are at all striving for cultural revolution as a prelude to the political revolution of the country. Because, there are leaders who, since it takes time for the cadres to reach the high level of consciousness and attain power of critical analysis, take advantage of the existing low level of consciousness invoking Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tse-tung, speak about, in general terms, revolutionary theories and chant revolutionary jargons, conduct at times so-called militant struggles and try to impress upon the cadres and the masses that since the analysis of the party about the stage of revolution and its strategy is correct, the party is correct. So, whatever be the conduct of the leaders in different spheres and aspects of life, whatever be their individual cutback on art, literature, ethics, morality, family relations and social ties and howsoever low cultural level and taste they may reflect in their day to day conduct—little do those matter! To them what matters only is to see whether their theory of revolution or the political concept conforms with Marxism—very little they do bother even if their leaders and workers remain slaves to bourgeois culture in their day to day behaviour, conduct and attitude to personal life. How preposterous! Can proletarian revolution be brought about only by mouthing proletarian revolutionary verbiages by those leaders and cadres who still carry the legacy and influence of bourgeois culture in their personal life, behaviour, conduct, habits and aesthetic taste? Can it ever happen? Is it ever possible? But there is a class of leaders who holds that when their theory of revolution is correct, their strategy of revolution is correct, the party is correct and that alone will bring about revolution; by this they avoid the historic responsibility of conducting, in the lives of leaders and workers of the party, the necessary all pervading cultural revolution as conducive and prelude to every revolution and thereby refuse to bring about

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Struggle for upliftment of Cultural Standard of the leaders and rank and file covering all aspects of life is of supreme importance

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any change in their culture, habit, conduct and behaviour in accordance with Marxian outlook. But Lenin has taught us that cultural revolution precedes technical revolution—the revolution for capturing state power can be organised only after the cultural revolution has taken place. So, every genuine Marxist-Leninist knows that without the integration of the political, economic, social and cultural programmes revolution cannot be successful in any country.

Such conduct of these leaders only proves that they do not feel the necessity of pursuing a programme of cultural revolution conducive to the political revolution in the country. As if through political and economic struggles, cultural revolution will follow automatically. Because of this, the more the influence of these so-called Marxist-Leninist parties is growing over the people and the democratic mass movements of the country, the more their influence over the student and youth community is growing—the more speedily, instead of going up, the cultural and ethical standard of the people is degenerating. Why this degeneration, what is its root cause—have the leaders, workers and supporters of these parties ever given a thought to this? So I feel to discuss it a little more.

As the ideology and movement of nationalism, despite thousand and one shortcomings, were in the main progressive and revolutionary during the freedom movement of our country the students, youths and intelligentsia participating in it were able to shake off the servile mentality implanted by the imperialists, could tear asunder the narrow outlook of the old feudal society and its superstitions and were awakened on the basis of a completely new ideology and cultural-ethical standard. The students and youths not only came out of schools and colleges to participate in the freedom movement, they conducted numerous militant struggles as well. But we found them reflecting in all those anti-imperialist struggles, a relatively higher cultural-ethical standard. That is why nobody called the student and youth community then indisciplined or unruly—they were acclaimed as flowers of Bengal.

Marxism-Leninism is the most scientific and the loftiest ideology of this Age

We know that Marxism-Leninism is the only revolutionary theory, the most scientific and the loftiest ideology of this age which alone can free man from this crippled capitalist society and give birth to a classless new society free from all sorts of exploitation of man by man. And we all know that revolutionary ideology and revolutionary theory always give birth to a higher cultural and ethical standard. It is impossible to organise revolution in any country unless the people of the country attain at least the necessary cultural and ethical standard. So, had these parties been really Marxist-Leninists, true to their assertion, then it could be well expected that with their growing influence over the masses, the students and youths participating in democratic movements, there would have been at least a corresponding and discernible decline in the influence of the most rotten and vile bourgeois culture pervading the society today and they would have reflected a new higher cultural and ethical standard as well. But the reality shows just the reverse. Does not this very fact prove that what they are practising in the name of Marxism-Leninism is not really so? The real essence, the living soul, the inner kernel of any great and revolutionary ideology of any age is ingrained in its higher cultural and ethical standard. That the communists of today must attain as the living soul or inner kernel of the proletarian culture, a much higher cultural-ethical standard and sense of values than even the highest of the humanist culture, ethics and sense of values the bourgeois revolution of that age could attain—failure to understand this precisely is mainly responsible for this tragedy. At their hands Marxism-Leninism has become absolutely lifeless, bereft of its living soul. These so-called Marxist-Leninist parties by their mere existence and growing influence are continually proving themselves absolutely nuisance and rotten, as if like, dead bodies, to the serious detriment of the society and the revolutionary movement of the country. So long as the left and democratic mass movements are conducted under the leadership of these so-called Marxist-Leninist parties it

would not be possible to put a halt to this trend of continuous deterioration in cultural standard of the masses in general and the students and youths in particular just through these day to day struggles on political and economic demands, however militant they might seem to be. And if the masses remain slaves to the low standard of bourgeois and feudal culture, they may fall victims to reaction at any moment being faced with utter failure of democratic mass movements and countrywide frustration and may even turn into a counter-revolutionary reserve force in the hands of reaction—as we witnessed in Indonesia.

If we correctly grasp the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao, we shall understand that the ability to appraise Marxist-Leninist theories critically cannot be attained at all unless we acquire the higher cultural, the proletarian cultural standard. Thus, when they say that “the party is correct since their theory of revolution is correct”—they forget that they cannot even properly ascertain the correctness or otherwise of their theory in view of their low cultural standard. This is one of the main reasons for the repeated mistakes these so-called Marxist-Leninist Parties are committing in formulating their base political line, in ascertaining the stage of revolution in India and in determining the day to day tactics of revolutionary mass movements.

Without attaining the necessary proletarian cultural standard one cannot acquire the ability to appraise correctly the theory of Revolution

In judging the character of a party, most of the people do not take note of this aspect at all, even those who do, they consider it not so important. But this is of paramount importance in judging the character and the theory of revolution of the party. Because, it is impossible for the communist party to lead the revolution, which it is supposed to do, if it falls victim to low and vile culture. Marx, therefore, said, to change the world, workers will have to change themselves first. It means, it is incorrect to think that simply because workers so desire and have picked up revolutionary jargons they can change the world. The workers who would change the world will have to change themselves first. Why did Marx say like this? What prompted him to say so? He could very well say that the workers can provide effective leadership in bringing about revolution if they can chant ‘revolutionary’ slogans and pick up ‘revolutionary’ verbiages either by adopting them intellectually or learning from day to day struggles. No, that is never possible. Because, without attaining the necessary higher cultural standard, that is, the proletarian cultural standard, one can neither realise nor can acquire the ability to appraise correctly the theory of revolution. This is why correct application or effective implementation of the revolutionary politics means to bring about revolutionary orientation of the life itself by involving the millions in the revolutionary struggles of the masses. And this necessitates cultural revolution as prelude to each and every technical revolution. But if the leaders and cadres of the party, who would bring about revolution in the cultural field are, themselves victims to bourgeois culture in their personal habits, tastes, outlook and conduct, they would never be able to accomplish it. None of the parties named communist has so far paid any attention to this—let alone in the movements outside, even in the struggles inside the party for changing the outlook and raising the cultural standard of the cadres and more particularly of the leaders themselves. By this they have deceived not only the people but also the innocent cadres of the party at the cost of whose sacrifices they have become ministers and all that. I am sorry, but can't help making this comment.

I have already said that the revolutionary party of the proletariat is in short the instrument for fulfilling all its class aspirations—political, economic, social and cultural. Lenin said that it is the most conscious, organised and vanguard detachment of the proletariat. That is why the leaders of the revolutionary party of the proletariat are the cream of proletarian culture. Should they not reflect in their habits, behaviour and livelihood, be it in personal life or in day to day social movements the proletarian class outlook and proletarian

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'Left Front' Government, not to speak of all out, is not even introducing partial state trading in essential commodities

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passed, this budget now enhance the allocation by another Rs 2.5 crores. Naturally, these are the points we should take note of in judging as to whether this budget has been prepared from a real leftist outlook. What else can we call it other than an unprecedented one when a thoroughly anti-people budget has been posed as a progressive one by simply allocating a sum of Rs 9 crores as unemployment allowance but collecting 60/62 crores of rupees through additional taxation? This is what has been done in this budget—attempts have been made in such a manner to cover up the anti-people character of the budget.

In the field of education also they have taken recourse to same such politics of subterfuge. They have robbed the universities of their autonomy. Perpetrating this undemocratic act, to divert the attention of the common people and confuse them, they side by side declared that they were making arrangements so that the college teachers would get their pay regularly. This coincidence, that is, taking two steps simultaneously proves leaving any shade of doubt that it is with this motive to lessen the serious reaction of the educated people against such undemocratic act in the educational field that they declared their decision to make arrangements so that college teachers would get their pay regularly—but there is nothing novel in this decision, it is the duty of any government.

Next comes the question of keeping prices stable. In our country this is a very serious problem. The menace of the problem of continuous price rise is such a problem, to make people understand which no public lecture is necessary. All of us know how the prices of all essential commodities are rising continuously. But in this budget no measure

has been adopted to keep the prices stable.

Prices in a capitalist country rise as a natural consequence of the law of capitalism that operate here—that is, the law of maximum profit. But in our country, the way black-marketing, hoarding, speculating, profiteering are being allowed to continue freely that these dishonest businessmen manipulate prices and the common people are to shoulder the burden of their abnormal profit. The only way in which it can be combated is by introducing all out state trading, both wholesale and retail, of foodgrains and essential commodities. That is, the government will have to take up the total distribution system of all the essential commodities. The government should purchase the commodities directly from the producers and sell those to the people direct—there should be no middleman or intermediary trader. The speculating spree of the dishonest traders in foodgrains and essential commodities can be stopped only in this way. And thus can be checked, to some extent, the crisis of exorbitant price rise—the price level can be made stable. But in order to make the price level stable as far as practicable, the 'Left Front' Government, not to speak of all out state trading is not even introducing partial state trading in essential commodities. Just as in Congress regime, the dishonest traders, hoarders, black-marketeers are freely continuing their black deeds and the 'Left Front' Government has taken the role of a silent spectator against them. They are not even using the Essential Commodities Act, that is there to bring these dishonest traders to book. As a result, during the short tenure of the 'Left Front' Government, the prices of all essential commodities have gone up rapidly surpassing all past

records. Agreeing to the necessity of bringing under government control the distribution of a few essential commodities to check price rise, the finance minister said though that if the centre does not take any interest in this regard then they have nothing to do. While fully subscribing to the demand that the centre should fix the prices of all essential commodities within people's easy reach on all India basis or take the responsibility of their distribution at cheap rates, I would like to emphasise that so long the centre does not do that the 'Left Front' Government should introduce all-out state trading which is within their power. They may pose a question, as to how they will introduce state trading in those commodities which do not grow in West Bengal. It is my suggestion that in such cases the government should assume the role of sole trader and purchase those commodities directly from the outside states. If that is done then the way the traders are now fleecing the people—that can at least be checked and controlled. Not only that, only if the State Government takes this step they would have the moral right to put pressure upon the Central Government. Putting pressure upon the Centre they could say—see, we have done this—if you too come forward then it can be more effectively accomplished. But without doing that they are saying that nothing can be done if the Centre does not take the initiative!

Secondly, let us take up the industrial policy of the 'Left Front' Government. As the first step of the thirty-six point programme—confiscation and nationalisation of foreign capital, nationalisation of monopoly capital, barring of the entry of the multinational corporations etc. are mentioned. But what we see in reality after

they have assumed power? We have seen that the 'Left Front' Government is inviting all the multinational corporations to invest here. They are helping the monopoly industrial houses. Though in slogans the 'Left Front' Government is talking big against the monopoly and the multinationals but at the same time they are saying that so long the centre does not take serious steps against them the 'Left Front' Government has but to accept the objective reality. On this they are advancing the plea of accepting the objective reality whereas they have taken the initiative to organise debates on all national plane on the question of more power to the State. Accepting the objective reality in this regard they did not remain idle! When they did not accept the objective reality on this question why are they accepting it on the question of multinationals and monopoly capital? If from this some one concludes that their venom against the multinationals and monopoly capital is mere verbal—in reality they intend to go on surrendering to them—will he be wrong?

Thirdly, they have said that the government would encourage small and medium industries and by that, they believe, the progress of monopoly industrial organisations can be checked. First of all, it is unsound theoretically. The finance minister has himself admitted that there is no market here, suitable for further investment of capital. Naturally, when today even monopoly is suffering from such an intense crisis of market, how can small and medium capital survive the competition? Then what is the real motive? The Central Government is also talking of decentralisation—but what is the motive behind it? In reality, the monopoly industrial houses will not at all be weakened by this—on the contrary, this

will benefit them. Why I say this? It will not be possible for these small and medium industries to get an entry in the market. Naturally they will have to sell their produce to these large industrial houses. Naturally, their very existence will depend upon these large industries. That is, these industries will work as ancillary industries of these large industries, in reality. What actually will follow? The opportunities, that are there, in large industries of conducting struggles by the organised workers—by thus segregating the workers the organised trade union movements will be frustrated. And in fact the Janata Party Government at the centre is saying that organised trade union movement is obstructing industrial progress—so build up small and medium industries. The 'Left Front' Government is also saying that. That is why I was saying that we must give a serious thought over the whole question and should try to realise its inner significance.

The honorable finance minister at another place of his speech has made a revelation about trade and commerce. He said, "We have been saying this continuously that the industrial and economic crisis with which our country is faced at present is in reality the crisis of the very structure. The apathy of the capitalists to invest has now established the truth. Because of the present system of distribution of wealth and labour the economic condition of a large section of the population of our country is not so that there can be sufficient demand for industrial goods—naturally the productive capacity of most of the industries are lying idle. So despite many incentives there is no fresh investment. Even old established industries had to cut down production—naturally, there is a further

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against this bourgeois conspiracy. This is the most sordid act of treachery and betrayal to the cause of the oppressed people as a result of which peoples' interest has tremendously suffered through this round of elections as it did in the previous ones—the Parliamentary poll and Assembly elections in major states.

These Parties—CPI, CPI(M) and its allies can not, therefore, escape their responsibility of bringing back a hated and discarded politician and a political party like Indira Gandhi and the Congress of her make in the political field. Had these parties been at least true to their public stance—then they would not have depended on the crutches offered by the bourgeoisie—their leading political parties, the Chambers of Commerce, Press and Publicity, money-bags and even deceptions and manipulations of the top layer of bureaucratic administrative machinery for their place and position in the parliamentary politics, but would have joined, instead, with us in the resolute defence of the exploited masses by offering them with a united left and democratic front as an instrument of struggle in the democratic movement including the electoral battles. This was the genuine expectation of the people and had it been fulfilled, it could have given a powerful rebuff to the bourgeois conspiracy of installing two-party system and even the comeback of the much maligned, much discredited bourgeois politician like Indira Gandhi. The bourgeoisie could do it so easily because of the absence of a left and democratic front which was the crying need of the hour. The guilt of these parties CPI(M), CPI and others does not end here, it extends far beyond that. Anybody aware of, the hollowness of the bourgeois parliamentary politics knows very well that whenever a bourgeois party because of its long presence in the government and pursuance of anti-people

Both CPI and CPI(M) helped Indira Gandhi and the Congress to create public image during Emergency

and anti-democratic acts and deeds becomes thoroughly discredited to the people, the bourgeoisie wants it to be replaced by another party of its choice so that people's discontent against the bourgeois party in power is not transformed into discontent against the very exploitative capitalist system. This is the bourgeois device of two-party system which does not necessarily mean the bourgeoisie gives backing to only two parties. It, on the other hand means, a bourgeois arrangement of replacement of a party in power by another party of its choice in both national and regional or state levels till such alternatives appear on the national plane. So, when a bourgeois party or a bourgeois national leader is replaced, this does not mean permanent rejection of that party or the particular leader by the bourgeoisie because all of them defend the class interest of the bourgeoisie. Whether a bourgeois leader will be replaced or not to lead a particular bourgeois party depends on the mechanism of that party. But what remains to be fought back and defeated is the authoritarian anti-democratic fascist trend in bourgeois politics which is the universal feature in all the bourgeois democracies in the background of third intense phase of crisis of world capitalism. Naturally, the best and only way to defeat this fascist trend that Indira Gandhi and her party represented especially during the nineteen months of Emergency was to fight it politically by developing militant democratic mass struggles to wrest from the hands of the bourgeoisie people's fundamental and democratic rights and liberties, and restoration, preservation and further extension of relative administrative neutrality, democratic norms, values

and ethics in public life. But what have been the role and performance of CPI, CPI(M) and other so-called left parties in defence of all these vital interests of the people?

Both CPI and CPI(M) helped Indira Gandhi and the Congress to create their public image by supporting and eulogising the so-called radical steps and measures which were in fact the fascist devices to delude the masses. These parties even lent their support to Indira Gandhi during the Emergency by joining the bogey she raised in self-justification of fighting right reaction and US imperialism.

But when Indira Gandhi and the Congress became thoroughly discredited because of the draconian measures she took and the fascist danger that loomed large during the nineteen months of Emergency—all for the defence of the crisis-ridden bourgeoisie, the bourgeoisie lost no time to improvise a national alternative through the Janata Party in order to channelise people's mounting discontent to parliamentary reformism-legalism instead of allowing it to flow in the direction of anti-capitalist class consciousness and militant movements of the people.

It was our Party that alone cautioned the people and the left and democratic parties against this conspiracy of the bourgeoisie and offered a concrete proposal to defend and safeguard people's interest. But CPI, CPI(M) and other so-called left parties, guided by their opportunist parliamentary politics joined with either of the big bourgeois parties to help the bourgeoisie in carrying through its plan of installing two-party system in the parliamentary poll. These parties, particularly the CPI(M), have been

rewarded by the bourgeoisie as is obvious from the backings they have been getting from this class in parliamentary politics.

Not only this; these parties instead of developing people's mighty democratic movement so as to undo the mischiefs committed by Indira Gandhi and the Congress as regards destruction of minimum democratic norms and principles, administrative neutrality and political ethics have, rather allowed all these to prevail expecting that they would reap benefits out of it in the parliamentary politics. From the governments, these parties are suppressing people's legitimate democratic movements on the same very bourgeois plea of 'Law and Order' and ensuring perfect peace and freedom to the capitalists, the hoarders and blackmarketeers in fleecing the toiling people. They are also equally corrupting the administrative machinery to meet petty sectarian party interests.

This helps the bourgeoisie breaking the organised resistance of the toiling people in the midst of unprecedented crisis in the capitalist order. Indira Gandhi and the Congress did this and now the Janata Party, CPI(M), CPI and other so-called left parties are doing exactly the same thing under different cover and with more deceptive pleas.

Indira Gandhi and her associates were guilty of committing gravest political crime of murdering minimum democratic norms, principles, values and ethics in public life. In order to give a crushing defeat to this political force what was therefore essential was to fight back these pernicious trends politically instead of concentrating attack on her on individual plane. But not only the Janata Party did it but

even parties like CPI(M), CPI and other joined in this bourgeois trick. So, in the name of so-called trial, the instances of her acts of omission and commission in administrative financial matters have been brought to light and people's attention is being sought to be diverted to those without exposing the class design behind all this. It was our party alone that struck a serious note of warning against this bourgeois trickery and by pointing out that if all the bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties calling themselves to be the avowed champions of people's cause themselves use the same very undemocratic and unethical norms and principles as also style of functioning, if all of them fight Indira Gandhi personally and not her politics then it will be no less than an act of gross treachery to people's cause. Not only the political climate will be removed but the danger of re-entry of Indira Gandhi as a powerful political force with the backing of the bourgeoisie will remain. That has exactly come about. People can now better realise the political reality that our party has been consistently bringing to them ever since the last parliamentary poll. They can now realise in a better way that it is our party the SUCI, the party founded by the great leader and teacher of the proletariat Comrade Shibdas Ghosh which alone is upholding the cause of the toiling people. It alone demonstrates revolutionary dynamism and vigour when all other so-called left parties have joined the camp of the crisis-ridden bourgeoisie and actively engaged in defending the interest of the exploiting class. The bankruptcy and treachery of these parties are becoming clear day by day.

CITU's ROLE IN WEST BENGAL

Acting as agent of the Management Opposing Workers' Movement in Durgapur Ophthalmic Glass Project

In our earlier issues, we have given just a few instances among scores of such as to how since the CPI(M) led government was installed in West Bengal, this party true to the trust reposed on it by the ruling capitalist class is using all the means at its disposal—the governmental administrative machinery including the police and its trade union wing CITU to suppress the legitimate democratic movement of the workers to enforce the so-called 'law and order' and 'discipline' in the industrial field.

Since we wrote about the Santaldih workers' movement and showed how the State Government was using even brutal police force to suppress it, the Chief Minister, Sri Jyoti Basu is boastfully claiming success in 'disciplining' the workers and has gone on record saying that "firmness pays". Certainly it is paying for a political force which comes in rescue of the crisis-ridden ruling capitalist class and earns the blessing of the class in fulfilling its parliamentary ambition by opposing and suppressing the legitimate democratic movements of the oppressed working people. But the working people too are learning a hard lesson which they need to do to come out of the clutches of the social democratic traitors and build up instead the revolutionary leadership which our party, SUCI, alone can provide.

The role of CITU in all its shamelessness and treachery is glaring in all its activities in the Ophthalmic Glass Project in Durgapur, West Bengal.

The OGP Mazdoor Union (OGPMU) affiliated to UTUC (Lenin Sarani) has been conducting a movement on some legitimate demands of the workers for about two months. The immediate cause of the workers' resentment among other things, is the vindictive

transfer of seven workmen violating the norm of the standing order and the Tripartite Agreement of 23.7.75. The Tripartite Agreement was reached during the Emergency period after the management of this public sector undertaking unilaterally transferred 50 workmen declared as surplus to other departments without determining their designation. It was decided by the agreement that within three months, the designation of the transferees would be determined. After that it remains still to be done. But on 27th December last, the management by a new order again transferred seven workmen without having any discussion with the unions. It was obvious that the management was being guided by ulterior motive of using this tool of transfer as a device of rationalisation as also to weaken the fighting union. It was quite in the fitness of things that all the trade unions, more so the CITU which shows so much concern to defend workers' interest should have come forward to build up a united struggle. But not only the CITU did not come forward but it induced three of its affected workmen to accept this unjust order of the management lying down. But four other workmen did not surrender and the OGPMU took up the cause by organising a movement. On 4th January last at a tripartite meeting the Assistant Labour Commissioner gave the order of restraining the management from taking further vindictive measure against the workers and directed it to settle the issue amicably with the union by 31st of January.

Strangely however, in flagrant violation of this decision of the Labour Department, the management took further vindictive measure and withheld the payment of salary for the month of January to

the struggling workers. Not only this, police officers went to the 'house' of Comrade Ananta Lal Gupta, President of OGPMU, on 31st January last and threatened him with dire consequences, if he did not withdraw the movement. So, whatever be the nomenclature of the government, it is using its police force in the same manner as Indira Government did in intimidating and suppressing the legitimate democratic movement. But when withholding of salary, police intimidation—all these tactics failed to cow down the workers to submission CITU came out from its hiding.

On 4th February last when OGPMU organised a mass deputation to the Accounts Officer for forthwith payment of salary for the month of January to the workers, Industrial Security force men were stationed there and police officers with two vans and police forces were waiting outside, CITU affiliated unions' (OGPEU) Secretary came along with his supporters in support of the officer and tried to push the deputationists out. They raised the slogan, "We would not allow humiliation of the officers"—what a slogan! But when they were gently asked as to why they were not raising their protest against the humiliation of the workers, they had no face. But this was not all. A CITU leader, Rakhal Bhattacharjee was admonishing the police officers, "Why you are not arresting these people who have gheroad the officer for so long?" However, his eagerness to give a 'lesson' to the workers was responded to by the management. The President and the Secretary of the OGPMU Comrades A.L. Gupta and Kashinath Banerjee have since been put under suspension. But this has also failed to demoralise the struggling workers. The struggle

Workers are Carrying forward their Struggle under DSWCC Leadership

In Durgapur Steel Plant

Durgapur: 22. 2. 78

The workers of Refractory Division of Durgapur Steel Plant were very much restive centring round their long-standing just demands, which inter alia, were: (i) Manning; (ii) Changing of old incentive bonus scheme; (iii) Acceptance of the principle of introducing 'same scale of pay to similar nature of jobs'; (iv) Implementation of safety measures. Durgapur Steel Workers' Co-ordination Committee (DSWCC), the only fighting organisation and instrument of struggles at the hands of the workers and employees of the Steel City was actively developing a protracted movement and as a part of it, took up the issues with the appropriate authority through mass deputations several times, failing which the DLC, Durgapur even during the black days of Emergency. As a sequel to it, a long-awaited tri-partite sitting matured on 20th January last when the management refused to talk with the DSWCC-leadership. The Labour department was although bungling over the issue and was not inclined to hold a Tri-partite sitting. But later, by the pressure of the movement, it had to arrange such a sitting. But the management still persisted in its obstructionist policy, even at the conciliation table. Faced with such a situation, there was no other alternative than to launch a long-drawn movement by the DSWCC. The authority responded by cracking down most vindictively and illegally

goes on. CITU's union is acting as the agent of the management in carrying through the management's designs to break the struggle of the workers. Workers are realising from bare experiences, the real colour of CITU and the political force behind it—the CPI(M).

upon 45 workers of C & D Shifts striking off 7½-hours duty period each in their Attendance Register consecutively on 15th and 16th of February. There was great resentment among the workers and at the call of the DSWCC leadership, the workers took up a high-pitched movement demanding the unconditional withdrawal of 'Cut-order' on the Attendance Register of the 45 workers. The authority, as if, in tune with the real intention and *modus operandi* of the 'Left-Front' Government in West Bengal, in enforcing peace and discipline in the industry by any means, deployed battalions of CISF & Police forces in quick haste in and around the Steel Plant. The CITU-leadership who had already earned 'notoriety' for its anti-working class role and as an organised force of 'black-legger' in disrupting series of legitimate strike struggles, particularly after the installation of the 'Left-Front' Government, ganged up with the INTUC and pretended to support the cause of the protest movement being conducted by the DSWCC-leadership. But their real motive and colour soon became all the more clear before the workers of the Steel Plant as soon as the news spread out that the authority would sit jointly with CITU-INTUC combine on 17th February to settle the dispute. The ominous design of the management to frustrate the developing movement from within in league with the CITU-INTUC-axis, who far from defending the cause of the workers of the Refractory Division, rather left no stone unturned to by-pass the real issues although, could not befool the workers and employees. At the vehement opposition of the workers, the management ultimately

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SUCI Karnatak Unit Encourages Public Library Workers' Movement

Karnatak 13th February, '78

The daily-wage employees of the Department of Public Libraries, Karnatak State are on Relay Hunger Strike since 26th January, '78 at Bangalore for realisation of their legitimate 4 Point modest demands.

Through ventilation of the grievances by the Organisation of the Daily-Wage Employees of the Department of Public Libraries, Karnatak, a painful state of affairs has come to light. The stark reality is that the Department of Public Libraries in Karnatak State are maintaining employees on daily wages since long, long ten years. The cruel joke is that while due to their maximum efforts in discharging their duties, the Department of Public Libraries stood first in India for providing a very good and efficient library service to the public, they, the employees on their turn remained daily wage earners for long ten years.

No amount of appeal and deputation during these long ten years could move the criminal apathy of the bureaucratic administration of the state and it refused to declare them as regular and permanent employees providing them at least a time scale of pay commensurate with their qualifications and merits. Under the circumstances, the employees of the Department of Public Libraries have been forced to go on 'Relay Hunger Strike' from 26th January 78 until their demands are

fulfilled, with the following four demands. Needless to say, the Karnatak Government, in tune with its criminal negligence, is showing cold shoulder to their demands.

1) The casual employees working on daily wages should be regularised to the suitable posts existing in the department.

2) The casual employees having B. Lib. Science degree and working on daily wages as Technical Assistant should be regularised as Technical Assistant or Technical Head.

3) The cases of over-aged casual employees should be considered while regularising their services;

4) The victims of the past strike and Emergency should be reinstated in service unconditionally.

In this hard struggle of the employees of the Public libraries of Karnatak, our Party Unit of Karnatak has lent full support to their just but modest demands and movement. Apart from two wings of Congress and Janata Party, even the CPI(M)-leadership who, of late, are significantly crying hoarse as the champion of the legitimate struggles, at least where they are not seated in power, are conspicuously silent over this legitimate movement of the employees. May be they are more concerned to capture anyhow some seats in the State Assembly in the ensuing State election by manoeuvring with the

State administration and other bourgeois parliamentary parties! The employees are seeing, no doubt, through bare experience who are their real friends in time of their need. They can well see who, the SUCI or the CPI(M), pays 'lip-service' to their cause and legitimate struggles.

DSP Workers' Struggle

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was forced to include the Durgapur Steel Workers Co-ordination Committee in the sitting with the management.

Again, the management obdurately dragged on the talk till they refused to withdraw the orders of 7½-hours' 'cut' on the duty-period of each of the 45 workers.

The workers could very well realise that it was only DSWCC-leadership that was alone upholding the cause of the workers against the management's onslaught and they were rallying round the movement. Sensing danger, CITU-leadership changed its tactics from frontal opposition to movement to disrupting it from within under cover of 'joint movement'. Still then, DSWCC has responded to this suggestion as it itself, tried for that in the past but in vain. However, CITU seems to be busy in organising secret meetings with its fanatic supporters which is opposed to the basic principle of joint

Comrade Debaprasad Sarkar's Speech

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tendency of retrenchment.' He then continued to say, "without a fundamental change of the structure there cannot be any solution of the economic crisis of India. We are continuing struggle for that change." Delightful indeed! While participating in the debate on the budget last year, I emphasised this. Today, the finance minister admits of that crisis. But the question is, by the term "structure" which structure does he mean? What is the character of this structure? Nowhere he has clearly stated it. In our country the installed capacity of production is getting idle, capital is becoming bureaucratic—are not all these happening undoubtedly due to the capitalist economic structure? Why then the finance minister does not say this categorically here? Is it because, such an acceptance will contradict his party's theory?

On the question of Centre-State relation the finance minister tried to emphasise that the centre takes away a large portion of State's revenue. As a result, due to want of money different development work cannot be properly accomplished.

movement. The workers, under the struggling leadership of DSWCC, are seeing through its game and are determined to carry forward their struggle despite the two pronged attacks of the management and its helping unions.

So, States should get more fund from the centre. There is nothing in it not to support. But in this context the finance minister has made another observation. He said that the money the Centre spends, there should be some supervision as to whether those are properly disbursed. Say for instance: a lot of money is wasted on Reserved Police, Research and Analytical Wings etc. Whereas, we do not get money, even if asked, from the Centre for more important work. True, but at the same time may I ask the 'Left Front' Government—are not they themselves guilty of similar crime? What are they themselves doing? They too are continuously enhancing Police budget in the same manner! They have even surpassed the Congress Government in this regard. They raised allocation in the Police account by about 775 crores on the last occasion and this time they have further enhanced it by 242 crores. So, thoughts must be given to all this.

To conclude I would say that for the above reasons I can by no means support this anti-people budget of the 'Left Front' Government. Getting jubilant at this budget of the 'Left Front' the big business houses, the Indian Chambers of Commerce, Bharat Chambers of Commerce, Merchant Chambers of Commerce may send greetings of praise but we cannot be happy at all.

WHY SUCI

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class culture? And what is the essence of proletarian culture—what do we mean by it? The acid test as to whether they have acquired the proletarian culture lies in the fact that they have really been able to free themselves from all sorts of private property mental complex. By this I mean that their cultural outlook and ethical taste as also their day to day behaviour are free from property sense, meaning private property mental complex or in other words they are completely free from the influence of the thought process of bourgeois individualism. That is why while defining communism or communist culture Marx said, it is humanism minus private property. That is why the main struggle to become a revolutionary proletariat or a communist is the struggle to acquire the cultural and ethical standard

which enables one to submit his individual interest most happily, voluntarily and unhesitatingly to the cause of the class, revolution and party by participating, first of all, directly and actively in the revolutionary movements of the toiling people and thereby grasping the revolutionary politics of the proletariat. But remember, this surrendering of individual interest to the cause of revolution is qualitatively different from the bourgeois concept of sacrificing wealth, properties and everything for the sake of the country. But if this spirit of sacrifice is influenced by bourgeois outlook then false vanity, individualism and ego will surely go on increasing creating serious impediment in the path for one to become a communist. Remember that to correctly set oneself in this struggle marks just the beginning to acquire communist consciousness and it is only through the success of this struggle that one can really attain the worth to become a communist one day. [To be concluded]

KKMS, ORISSA CONFERENCE

Held Amidst Great Enthusiasm and Jubilation

Cuttack, 6th March :

On 3rd, 4th and 5th March the 3rd Conference of the KKMS, Orissa was held amidst great enthusiasm and jubilation. Poor peasants and landless agricultural labourers in thousands came at Delanga (Puri) from different corners of Orissa to discuss and decide their future revolutionary task for the emancipation of the society from the grips and tentacles of capitalism. This 3rd Conference of KKMS will remain a memorable one for the help and co-operation the organisers received from the local people.

3rd March was the day of the open session. The open session started at 5 P.M. A well decorated long procession came to the meeting place just before the meeting started. It was a large gathering of more than 15000 people and the old people of the locality could not remember any other gathering parallel to this excepting the occasion when Gandhiji addressed a meeting there in 1938.

With the song composed on our departed great leader, teacher and guide, one of the foremost Marxist thinkers of the era Comrade Shibdas Ghosh sung by the DYOMusic squad the meeting started. Comrade Raghunath Das delivered his welcome address to the delegates and the people attending the open session. Comrade Bishnu Das moved two condolence resolutions—one, on the premature demise of Comrade V. Natarajan, member of the Kerala State Organising Committee, SUCI and the other on the demise of Comrade Abdus Sadek of Murshidabad, a leader of the teachers' movement who was killed by a group of anti-socials with the backing of a particular political party. A minute's silence was observed.

Comrade Balaram Sahoo general secretary, KKMS, Orissa also spoke.

In his one and a half hour long presidential address Comrade Tapas Dutta Orissa State Secretary of SCUI, dealt on the various problems confronting the rural people of the country. Comrade Dutta said that after Mrs. Gandhi and the Congress was dislodged from power and the Janata

Party was installed in power at the centre, the leaders of the party started to claim that a silent revolution has taken place in the country! The CPI(M) too joined in this chorus, betraying their real pseudo-Marxist social-democratic character.

Prices are ever soaring, unemployment problem is continuously on the increase—they could do nothing to even touch the fringe of any of the problems, but they claim that a silent revolution has taken place! Who have gained from this silent revolution? The rich. Who have lost? The poor peasants, the landless agricultural labourers, the workers, the common people. So long capitalism will remain, this exploitative capitalist system will remain intact no amount of these so-called revolutions can change the lot of the down-trodden people.

In fact all the problems confronting the lives of the people are emanating from this exploitative capitalist system. Comrade Dutta explained at length as to why the distribution of land to the landless, even if genuinely and scrupulously accomplished cannot solve today the rural problem basically. He said that the real solution to the problems of the rural population today lies in the modernisation and mechanisation of agriculture and uninterrupted industrialisation. But the present capitalist state cannot introduce modernisation and mechanisation of agriculture for fear of swelling the already alarming number of unemployed, which will pose a threat to the very existence of this capitalist

state. So they are attempting to keep the rural population in small patches of land.

So, Comrade Dutta said that, it is high time that our people should realise the basic cause of their miseries—and master their strength and strengthen KKMS, the only revolutionary peasant organisation led and guided by the teachings of our great departed leader Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and the

revolutionary working class party he founded and built up brick by brick through relentless struggle—the only hope before the toiling people of our country for their emancipation. It is only SUCI that can guide the toiling people of India in their fight against capitalism to end all sorts of exploitation of man by man by overthrowing this capitalist state machine and replacing it by the state of the proletariat, the socialist state.

Comrade B. Jena and Comrade Mayadhar Nayak

also addressed the gathering.

Delegate sessions were held on 4th and 5th March which elected the new state council and the executive committee. Comrade Tapas Dutta was re-elected as the president. Comrades Mayadhar Nayak, Purushottam Pradhan, Shyam Singh Mahato and Kalandi Mahanto as Vice-Presidents, Comrades Balaram Sahoo as general secretary, Jagabandhu Baral as treasurer, Bishnupada Das, Raghunath Das and Sambhunath Nayak as members of the secretariat were also elected.

GLORIOUS VICTORY OF ROURKELA STEEL PLANT WORKERS

Rourkela, 25th February :

Workers of Rourkela Steel Plant achieved a significant victory on 23rd February last against the management of the factory. After prolonged and massive protest, even under naked police torture, the workers compelled the corrupted and oppressive management on the spot to make compensation for deceased workers killed in accident.

In Rourkela Steel Plant a Steel Plant Employees' Welfare Association (SPEWA) fund was formed in January '70 for the purpose of helping the deceased worker's family. The general workers have since been regularly contributing towards the fund and a huge amount had been deposited this way. But the General Manager being the Chairman and majority of the members of the governing body of the fund including the Treasurer being from the executives of the management, the management had although been utilising the fund for their narrow interests and were taking authoritarian decision in sanctioning help to the deceased workers families. Their pet registered union, Rourkela Majdur Sava, also had been conniving with the management in utter disrespect of the general employees' desire and expectation. The general employees had long been expressing their grievances and were demanding election of the governing body of the SPEWA fund. At last the authority had to declare the election on 25th December '77 last but apprehending total defeat and massive victory

of the Rourkela Worker's Union affiliated to UTUC (Lenin Sarani) candidates, the management with the help of their pet recognised union started creating disturbances on the day of election and on the plea of maintaining peace in the plant they postponed the election. In the mean time, one worker was killed in SMS of the plant on 17th December but no compensation or help was granted to his family from the fund. Again on 22nd February '78 one worker Sri D. Roy was killed in the Sintering Plant in an accident but the body lay quite unnoticed and undetected throughout the night due to sheer negligence of the management and was detected the next morning by the workers. Aggrieved at this incident the general workers kept the dead body untouched and did not allow the management to remove it demanding all compensation and welfare measures along with a quick disbursement from the SPEWA fund to the victim's family.

But the management with the help of police removed the dead body on 23rd February at 4 P.M. Getting indignant at such an ill-treatment and most

inhuman and negligent behaviour on the part of management thousands of workers assembled near the office of the General Superintendent, at that time the acting G.M., and demanded an immediate decision in that regard. In reply the General Suptd. informed the police that he was gheraoed by the workers and truck loads of armed police promptly arrived at the spot and brutally beat up the workers sending several to the hospital. But the workers did not move even by an inch and withstood the attack with valiant courage. Ultimately the Genl. Suptd. was compelled to accept the demands and then and there issued a circular sanctioning an aid of Rs. 40,000 each to the families of the two deceased workers and gave in writing that no action would be taken against any of the workers involved in the agitation. Thus the management was forced by the general workers to take a major decision for the first time without signing any agreement with the puppet recognised union. Comrade B. Jena, General Secretary of Rourkela Workers' Union (UTUC—Lenin Sarani), in a press statement, has conveyed revolutionary congratulation to the employees and workers of the Steel Plant on this occasion for their heroic struggle and historic achievement.

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